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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that neither of two views of post-baccalaureate training of professionals is adequate for understanding socialization into the learned professions and offers an alternative model. Both the idea of professional education as the transmission of professional knowledge and skills and the idea of professional education as a sorting or selection process to assure that students have the characteristics desired by society make unacceptable assumptions and only look at part of the educational process. The alternative model, by contrast, looks at socialization outcomes at both the institutional and individual levels, and differs from the traditional models in acknowledging the impact of the individual on socialization processes and outcomes. It also differs in stressing the interaction between student background characteristics and aspects of the socialization process itself. This framework suggests that socialization into the professions should be conceived as a series of processes in which the novice: (1) enters the educational institution with values, beliefs, and attitudes about self and professional practices; (2) is exposed to various socializing influences while in school; (3) assesses the salience of the normative pressures for attaining personal and professional goals; and (4) assumes, changes, or maintains his/her original values and goals. Contains 42 references. (SM)

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SOCIALIZATION IN GRADUATE SCHOOL:

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

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SOCIALIZATION IN GRADUATE SCHOOL:

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There has been a continuing interest in the study of professions in society, dating from the very founding of the first modern universities in Europe of the Thirteenth Century. In these early days, the university was the primary source of academic preparation for the clergy. It also encompassed what have come to be considered the traditional professions of medicine and law, but these were not the exclusive province of the universities in the same way as was preparation for the clergy. However, for our purposes here we are concerned with the process of preparation for those occupations for which practitioners can be considered to be "professionals" according to the following criteria outlined by Moore and Rosenbloom (1970):

1. The professional practices a full-time occupation, which comprises the principal source of his earned income . . . .

2. A more distinctively professional qualification is commitment to a calling, that is the treatment of the occupation and all of its requirements as an enduring set of normative and behavioral expectations . . . .

3. Those who pursue occupations of relatively high rank in terms of criteria of professionalism are likely to be set apart from the laity by various signs and symbols, but by the same token are identified with their peers--often in formalized organizations . . . .

4. The possession of esoteric but useful knowledge and skills, based on specialized training or education of exceptional duration and perhaps of exceptional difficulty . . . .

5. In the practice of his occupation, to perceive the needs of individual or collective clients that are relevant to his competence and to attend to those needs by competent performance . . . .

6. The professional proceeds by his own judgment and authority; he thus enjoys autonomy restrained by responsibility (pp. 5-6).

The foregoing characteristics include expectations about professional practice that refer to both normative (calling, service orientation, and autonomy) and intellective (education of exceptional duration). With respect to the latter we are limiting our consideration to the post-baccalaureate level since that represents most clearly education of exceptional duration. With respect to the former, we consider explicitly the normative dimensions of professional programs along with their knowledge and skill dimensions.

There has also been a continuing interest in the ways in which novices are prepared to assume professional positions in society. This paper discusses two views of professional education and presents a comprehensive conceptual framework for describing socialization. This framework, an extension of the Weidman (1989) model of undergraduate socialization, is used to facilitate understanding of graduate and professional student socialization.

Professional socialization can be viewed from either an institutional or an individual level. From the institutional level it can be defined as a process through which students "acquire the values and attitudes, the interest, skills, and knowledge, in short the culture, current in the groups of which they are, or seek to become, a member. It refers to the learning of social roles" (Merton, et al., 1957, p. 287). Alternatively, professional socialization has been described at the individual level as the process through which people acquire a professional identity. For example, Becker and Carper (1956) state

that socialization is a process through which a person develops an "image of himself as the holder of a particular specialized position in the division of labor" (p. 289). Similarly, Bucher and Stelling (1975) claim that the result of the socialization process is a "specific professional identity, commitment and sense of career" (p. 20).

Following a line of argument similar to that presented in describing a profession, it is reasonable to assert that the professional socialization process has both cognitive and affective dimensions, and that learning appropriate performance of the professional role requires the application of knowledge and technical skills to the problems presented. Additionally, professional practice requires both adherence to certain standards of practice and commitment to the requirements of society over personal gain (Freidson, 1986). It can be claimed that a central purpose of post-baccalaureate educational programs is to prepare novices for professional practice by socializing them into the cognitive and affective dimensions of the anticipated professional role.

Classic studies of the preparation of students for professional roles have attempted to clarify socialization processes and to explain the acquisition of the norms, values, and attitudes of the professional role (e.g., Merton, Reader, and Kendall, 1975; Lortie, 1959 and 1975; Becker, Geer, Hughes, and Strauss, 1961; Olesen and Wittaker, 1968; and Bucher and Stelling, 1977). These studies have looked at socialization as a developmental process which can be analyzed at the individual and institutional levels, and has both informal and formal dimensions.

In order to understand the importance of studying the socializa-

tion of graduate and professional students, one must look briefly at the place of professions in society and the consequences of educational preparation for assuming professional roles. It has been argued that each profession fulfills a unique function in society. This view is consistent with Durkheim (1984) who claims that society is based on shared beliefs and values and bound together by a functional interdependence of its parts (i.e., organic solidarity) based on the division of labor. For Durkheim, the purpose of socialization is to forge normative consensus, so that novices can perform a functional role in the division of labor and thereby perpetuate social solidarity. Durkheim's views are particularly important because they provide a rationale for claiming that clearly defined social roles are important for society, and that the means by which persons are prepared for particular roles are also important for maintaining stable social structures. Furthermore, socialization to a professional role is crucial as professionals are, by definition, subject only to peer review (Vollmer and Mills, 1966; Etzioni, 1969; Freidson, 1984) and thus require internalization of and commitment to professional norms.

Talcott Parsons (1951) expressed a similar view when he stated that:

> Socialization is the learning of any orientation of functional significance to the operation of a system of complementary expectations . . . . (It is) the internalization of certain patterns of value-orientation. This result is conceived to be the outcome of certain processes of interaction in roles (Parsons, 1951, pp. 208-209).

John Meyer (1977) claims that there are two views of educational institutions. The first view is that the purpose of educational institutions is the "transmission of the culture of a society along

with the political function of inculcating commitment to the existing political order" (Trent, Braddock, and Henderson, 1985, p. 307). This is the traditional view of an educational institution which socializes individuals into social roles.

A second view of educational institutions is that they provide sorting or selection processes which place individuals into social positions (Meyer, 1977). In this paper, we will extend Meyer's discussion to the level of professional education and claim that there are two views of professional education, one which focuses on the importance of the socializing processes provided by educational institutions and the other which focuses on the sorting and selection processes of professional education.

The first view is the traditional idea of professional education as the transmitter of professional knowledge and skills. Because this view claims that socialization processes develop commitment to professional norms, values and attitudes, this view generated considerable interest in the identification of professional norms and values. Early literature is less concerned with explaining outcomes than describing the socialization process, discussing the extent to which various occupations meet specified criteria, and determining what those criteria ought to be. For example, Greenwood (1966) maintains that:

> . . . professions are distinguishable by possession of 1) a basis of systematic theory, 2) authority recognized by the clientele of the professional group, 3) broader community sanction and approval of its authority, 4) a code of ethics regulating relations of professional persons with clients and with colleagues, and 5) a professional culture sustained by formal professional associations (Greenwood, 1966, p. 6).

Greenwood also discusses at length the importance of values, norms, and

symbols to the concept of professionalization (Greenwood, 1966, p. 16). In the same volume, Goode discusses the differences between professions and non-professions. These sociologists stated the characteristics of an ideal role type (a profession) and either explicitly or implicitly assumed that the role, as expressed by the norms, values, and attitudes as well as expectations for performance, is both the appropriate and the actual outcome of professional education.

There are a number of conceptual works on adult socialization which reflect this view of professional education. The work of Clausen (1968) assumes that society is formed and defined by consensus and shared norms, that for society to continue, novices must accept these beliefs as well as assume a socially defined, functional role. The socializing agent moves the novice, who has not as yet internalized normatively defined values and attitudes, or who does not have a clear concept of a role, to a socialized state through social interaction and the selective use of rewards and sanctions for role behavior. In order for socialization to be efficient and effective, there must be normative clarity and consensus among the socializers.

Brim (1966) assumes a view similar to Clausen when stating that "socialization refers to the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make them more or less able members of their society" (p. 3). For him, socialization theory and research are concerned with how the society molds the individual and not how the individual changes society (p. 4). Consequently, the able individual is one who meets the requirements of the functionally defined social role. Brim's theory, like that of Clausen, claims that

the individual learns his appropriate role behavior through interaction with others who already hold the normative belief about a social role (p. 90) and who either reward or punish the novice for congruent or non-congruent behavior. Brim goes beyond Clausen, however, by using Mead's theory of symbolic interaction to explain how the individual learns the role of the other through interaction (Manis and Meltzer, 1967).

The implications of the functional view of professional education are that the desired outcomes can be clearly identified and the educational experiences planned to transmit to the students both the cognitive and affective dimensions necessary for the beginning practitioner of the professional role. Bragg (1976), for instance, claims that the goals of professional education are clearly known, that the socialization process involves trying on a new role and that it is the responses by novices to role models that determine outcomes. She further assumes role consensus and clarity among role models (primarily faculty) and that the student body is homogenous as well as reinforcing of the anticipated professional role. Because the "components of the socialization process can be identified . . . the conditions for maximizing both the cognitive and affective development" can be built into the learning process (Bragg, 1976, p. 3).

In developing her model of professional socialization, Bragg relied heavily on what is considered an exemplary piece of research in traditional professional socialization, The Student Physician by Merton, Reader, and Kendall (1957). These authors compare the socialization process in professional (medical) education to rationalization,

that is, to the scientific organization of education for ensuring efficient and effective transmission of medical culture to the medical students. Merton, et al. assume that the physician role is identified by the medical faculty. Normative consensus is assumed while tension between roles or among the agents of socialization tend to be ignored.

They further claim that socialization is a "process through which individuals are inducted into their culture. It involves the acquisition of attitudes and values, of skills and behavior patterns making up social roles and established in the social structure" (Merton, et al., pp. 40-41). For them, socialization is the result of both direct and indirect processes. The direct process is the didactic teaching in which faculty transmit knowledge and values. The indirect process is interactions of novices with faculty, peers, patients, and other medical personnel which result in the acquisition of the attitudes, values and behavior patterns appropriate for the medical role.

In summary, this first view of professional education claims that the social order is maintained when novices are prepared by educational institutions at the post-baccalaureate level to assume professional roles which are characterized by normatively prescribed skills, values, and attitudes. During socialization, it is the individual who is molded to fit into the prescribed professional roles.

An advantage of this view of professional education is that the socialization processes can be rationalized, since it is possible to identify the desired impact of professional education and to select and implement a plan which is thought to bring about the results desired. The educational evaluation process is simplified because the measure of

success is the efficiency and effectiveness of the institution in achieving its stated goals. A disadvantage of this view is that in assuming a linear, uni-directional relationship between educational processes and expected impact, the complexity and richness of the professional role and educational process are ignored.

The second view of professional education denies the impact of educational processes on affective outcomes, but rather claims that it is the sorting or selection processes of the institution which place the individuals into social roles. This view claims that the educational institution establishes student admissions or selection policies which admit only students who are believed to already have assumed the normative dimensions of the professional role to which they aspire or admit only those into which the institution is chartered to place them (Meyer, 1977). Others (e.g., Mortimer and Simmons, 1978) call this activity within the individual anticipatory socialization. In either instance the institution might assume responsibility for cognitive development but not affective development of the student. A good example of research based on this view of professional education is that of Lortie (1957) who claims that law schools select for admission those students who occupy a social status commensurate with the status of the type of law practice into which graduates of a particular educational institution are allocated.

A disadvantage of this view is that an emphasis on the sorting processes of an institution raises questions of equity of occupational opportunity for individuals from lower status origins. If the educational institutions assumes little responsibility for the socialization

processes and only selects individuals for admission who already exhibit appropriate affective characteristics for the position sought, an individual's moving into higher status positions is unlikely. Another major consequence of adopting this view of professional education is that the prospective professional receives no guidance in integrating the cognitive and affective dimensions of the professional role.

We argue that neither of these views of professional educational institutions is adequate for understanding socialization into the learned professions because each makes assumptions about processes without considering the adequacy of the evidence to support the assumption. Each model makes unacceptable assumptions and only looks at parts of the educational processes. We claim that a model of socialization into learned professions must acknowledge the impact of a number of elements and consider professional socialization as a complex process upon which there are a wide variety of pressures.

Extending the Weidman (1989) model of undergraduate socialization to the post-baccalaureate professional education level provides such a model of socialization (See Figure 1).

This framework is similar to the traditional socialization model in that it is an effort to account for the individual's ability to fill social roles and for society to prepare individuals for professional positions. However, the framework shows the complexity of the socialization process by demonstrating the relationships among student background characteristics, the educational experience, socialization outcomes, and mediating elements such as the impact of society, profes-

sional group expectations, professional practice, and non-educational reference groups on socialization into the professions.

Further, the framework looks at socialization outcomes at both the institutional and individual levels. At the institutional level the framework suggests that novices are integrated into the professional community by adopting its norms, attitudes and values and because of them the authority and status of the professional role. At the individual level, the framework suggests that novices willingly accept professional norms as they begin to identify with and become committed to a profession.

The framework also differs from the traditional socialization model in that it acknowledges the impact of the individual on socialization processes and outcomes. For example, the framework suggests that the outcome of socialization is not a static functional role, but that role behavior may change over time due to tension between individual needs and institutional and role requirements (Getzels, 1963). Also roles change because of reinterpretation of the role by novices and their teachers, because of changing social requirements, the efforts of professional associations, and the impact of current professional practice.

By acknowledging both institutional and individual dimensions of socialization this framework suggests that "socialization is not merely the transfer from, one group to another in a static social structure, but the active creation of a new identity through a personal definition of the situation" (Reinharz, 1979, p. 374). "Socialization is a product of a gradual accumulation of experiences of certain people,

particularly those with whom we stand in primary relations, and significant others are those who are actually involved in the cultivation of abilities, values and outlook" (Manis and Meltzer, 1967, p. 168).

The framework also differs from the traditional socialization model in that it shows the importance of considering the interaction between student background characteristics and aspects of the socialization process itself (Lortie, 1975). The framework highlights the importance of student background characteristics such as age and gender, and more complex characteristics such as knowledge and beliefs about the professions and self on impact of educational experience.

The importance of considering background characteristics when trying to assess the impact of the educational experience on outcomes is evident in the literature on the effect of gender. Hite (1985) found that female graduate students who had male advisors were less likely than those who had female advisors to become productive scholars. This was attributed to their difficulty in identifying with and establishing a mentor relationship with the advisor. Epstein (1981) also notes a contradiction between traditional female role socialization and the socialization important for occupying traditionally male professional roles. Also, Bush and Simmons (1981) note that the impact of an educational experience will be increased when an individual's beliefs about a role and his or her performances in that role are similar to the image of a role held by the socializer. In general, this framework suggests that socialization research should consider the impact of student background characteristics on socializa-

tion and not assume the homogeneity of the student body, a claim made by the traditional model (Bragg, 1976, p. 1).

Contrary to the uni-directionality assumed by the traditional socialization model (Bragg, 1976) the dimensions of the framework shown in Figure 1 are assumed to be linked in a bi-directional fashion. It is assumed that there is a reciprocity of influences on the professional novices such that, for instance, the processes and contexts of the educational experience will influence each other and the socialization outcomes will affect the normative context of the education experience of future novices (Kerckhoff, 1986, p. 103).

Both the traditional and the Weidman (1989) models focus on the socializing impacts of normative contexts and interpersonal relations among an organization's members (Brim, and Wheeler, 1966) and acknowledge the affects of normative consensus and clarity (Ondrack, 1975; Bucher and Stelling, 1975; and Katz and Harnett, 1977). However, the present framework shows that there are competing socializing agents and that the novices' personal needs or interpretation of the context will alter the socializing experience and its impact (Olesen and Whittaker, 1968).

Role modeling is one example of an interpersonal process connoted by the framework. This reflects the claim by many (e.g., Merton, et al., 1957; Rosen and Bates, 1967; and Pease, 1967) that the faculty act as role models for novice professionals. However, the framework also indicates that there can be competing role models.

Another example of role tension is that noted by Carroll (1985) who found that faculty sanctions for what is perceived as inappropriate

role behavior can actually increase the impact of non-educational reference groups or non-faculty role models. The framework suggests the importance of ascertaining the identity of role models and the extent of their influence in the socialization process.

As has been discussed, the present framework differs from the traditional, functional model of professional socialization in a number of ways. When compared to a sorting and allocating model, the framework suggests that research can assess the effect of antecedent characteristics on socialization outcomes. Rather than assuming that changes do or do not take place in education, the model provides a framework for examining the nature and extent of any changes.

In summary, the framework suggests that socialization into the professions is conceived as a series of processes whereby the novice: 1) enters the educational institution with values, beliefs, and attitudes about self and professional practices; 2) is exposed to various socializing influences while in school, including normative pressures exerted by faculty and peers, from society, professional organizations, professional practice, and non-educational reference groups; 3) assesses the salience of the various normative pressures for attaining personal and professional goals, and 4) assumes, changes, or maintains those values, aspirations, identity and personal goals that were held at the onset of the socializing experience.

There are a number of advantages to this framework. First, the socialization process is analyzed from both the institutional and individual level. This provides a more thorough conceptualization of the process and facilitates operationalization of variables in empiri-

cal research. Second, by identifying the necessity of viewing socialization outcomes at both institutional and individual levels, the model encourages analyses to go beyond the functional analysis of professional roles to a more complete understanding of the complex nature of social behavior that incorporate interpretive as well as functional perspectives. Third, use of this framework requires fewer assumptions about social process and structure than do the traditional or allocation models. Whereas the traditional models assume student body homogeneity and the allocation model assumes that the educational experience does not affect role assumption, the present framework incorporates the importance of assessing the impact of each element, and does not assume that professional socialization processes are linear and uni-directional.

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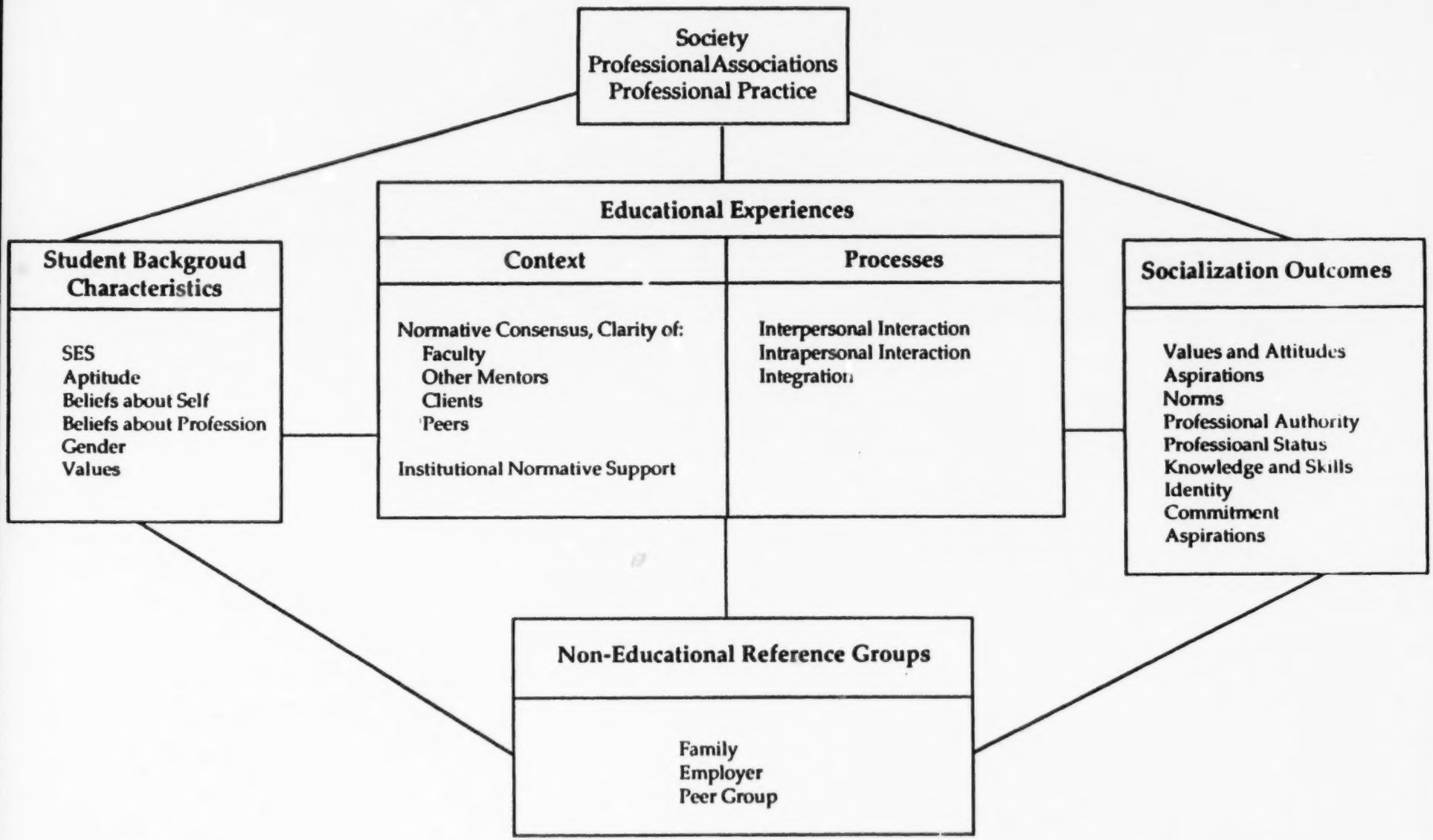

Figure 1: A Conceptual Framework for Professional Socialization